இணைப்பு

[22-ம் பக்கத்திலுள்ள அடிக்குறிப்பைக் காண்க.]

THE HON. DR. M. KARUNANIDHI :

Sir, I move the following Resolution :—

The House taking into consideration " The Tamil Nadu Government Views on State Autonomy and the Rajamannar Committee Report" and the Report of the Rajamannar Committee;

resolves that, in order to secure the integrity of India with people of different languages, civilisation and culture, to promote economic development and to enable the State Governments having close contact with the people to function without restraints, and

in order to establish a truly Federal set up with full State autonomy, the Central Government do accept the views of the Tamil Nadu Government on State Autonomy and the recommendations of the Rajamannar Committee and proceed to effect immediate changes in the Constitution of India.

இணைப்பு I–அ

THE SPEECH OF THE CHIEF MINISTER HON. DR. M. KARUNANIDHI ON THE 16TH APRIL 1974 MOVING THE RESOLUTION ON " STATE AUTONOMY " IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Hon'ble Mr. Speaker,

I am indeed very happy to have the privilege of moving this epochmaking resolution which, I am confident, will form a landmark in the history of India. I beseech the Honourable Members of this House, renowned as they are for their sagacity, to give their deep and deliberate consideration, keeping in view the laudable object of this resolution and to extend their support to it. We are all aware that the ruling party—Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam—has, on many an occasion, demonstrated its determination to play its full part to enhance India's might and strength and in safeguarding and securing that the integrity and unity of India are not affected in the slightest extent.

If proof were needed of the ardent patriotism of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam party, it is seen in the fact of how in 1962 the Party gave up its demand for secession, how it enthusiastically took part in the preparations for defence to repel the Chinese aggressors, how it contributed Rs. 6 crores to the National Defence Fund and thus was in the forefront of all the States. Indeed the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam party had rendered heroic service for the defence of the country imbued by the sprit of being in the very battlefield of India's fight.

I am mentioning all these just to discourage consideration of this resolution on the basis of and with the point of view of unwarranted and unnecessary doubts.

In 1945, in its Election Manifesto, the All-India Congress Party had described the nature of the future Federal Constitution of India as below :—

> "The Federation of India must be a willing Union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units there may be a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desired to do so."

Following this, in 1947, the resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly emphazised that except the powers assigned to the Union all the other powers shall vest with the autonomous States. The material part of the Resolution runs as follows :—

> " Wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States . . . . . shall be a Union of them all; and the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers."

After India attained independence, these resolutions and election manifestos which are part of history have been either conveniently forgotten or deliberately suppressed.

This truth was on many occasions brought out both in Parliament and the State Legislature by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam while it was in the Opposition; and it has consistently pleaded for suitable amendments to the Consitution. The idea of State autonomy had also been continuously propagated in Tamil Nadu by the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam.

In 1967 in the Election Manifesto of the D.M.K. it was stated as follows :—

"The D.M.K. had taken upon itself the responsibility of seeing that no region of the country dominates another region in the name of implementing integration:

The D.M.K. is determined to protect the rights of the States from being suppressed and to chalk out a plan for the uniform economic development of all the States;

It shall be the endeavour of the D.M.K. to protect the interests of the States and to transfer the residuary powers from the Centre to the States; it will reiterate the necessity to amend the Constitution for this purpose."

Dr. Anna as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, while presenting the Budget for the year 1967-68, had forcefully pleaded against the financial dependence of the States on the Centre—

"We have obviously had to take note of the limitations under which the State Governments have to function in our federal set up. Apart from the provisions of the Constitution which are themselves weighed in favour of the Centre, the practices and conventions, which have evolved in the last fifteen years of economic planning have also tended to strengthen the role of the Central Government at the expense of the States. With the delimitation of powers as provided in the Constitution, which gives it the authority to regulate foreign trade, monetary and credit policy, the responsibility for overall direction of our economy vests with the Central Government. Through its access to the more elastic sources of revenue, including residuary powers of taxation, the Centre is in a position to syphon off a large share of the national income, leaving the States in a position where they have to depend on discretionary loans and grants-in-

aid from the Centre for implementation of their plans and policies. The Centre also regulates directly through powers vested in it under Article 293 of the Constitution, and indirectly through the Reserve Bank, the terms and conditions and limits subject to which the State Governments can augment their resources through public borrowings. The provision for an objective review of the financial needs of the States at quinquennial intervals through the Finance Commissions has not in any way served to mitigate substantially the dependence of the States on the Centre in view of the various limitations on the terms of reference of such Commissions."

In the concluding part of his Budget Speech, Dr. Anna observed—

"The House is aware that there is need for rethinking on the relations between the Centre and the States. I have no doubt that every one will agree on the need for placing existing relations on a satisfactory basis. No one can deny that the experience so far in regard to distribution of revenues, delimitation of powers and allocation of assistance for Plan has been such as to cause bitterness. It has become an urgent necessity to eliminate this bitterness and evolve ways and means of promoting fruitful relations between Centre and States. The problem I have posed need cause no apprehension or misgiving but should only provoke thought. It is my earnest desire that through mutual goodwill and understanding we should forge a fraternal and beneficial nexus."

Again, in 1969, the last article written by Dr. Anna, in the English Journal "Home Rule" runs as follows :—

"Dear Brother,

Never have I been mad after power. Nor am I happy of being the Chief Minister of our State under a Constitution which on paper is federal but in actual practice tends to get more and more centralised. On that account, I do not like my good friend E.M.S. declare that it is my intention to irritate the Centre or pick up quarrels with Delhi. True, a sense of determination at the appropriate stage is all important. But this should be preceded by educating the public on

federalism itself. In that, dear brother, I am quite confident of your active co-operation and intimate participation.

If by being in office, the D.M.K. is able to bring to the notice of the thinking public, that the present Constitution is a sort of dyarchy by the back door that would be a definite contribution indeed to the political world. "

On the 8th April 1967, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, Dr. Anna observed—

"It will be sufficient if the Centre retains only such powers as are necessary for preserving the unity and integrity of the country leaving adequate powers to the States. In order to distribute the powers and to suggest the method of working out the Constitution, a High Power Commission should be appointed."

In pursuance of these observations and of my announcement on the floor of the Assembly on the 19th August 1969, a Committee consisting of Dr. P.V. Rajamannar as Chairman and Dr. A. L. Mudaliar and Thiru P. Chandra Reddy as Members was constituted by the Government on 22nd September 1969 in order to examine the question regarding the relationship between the Centre and the States on the basis of autonomy for the States without in the least impairing the integrity of the country.

It is to be remembered that, subsequently in 1971, in the Election Manifesto of the D.M.K., it was announced—

" Though the Constitution of India is described as a Federal one, the balance is more tilted towards the Centre, and hence the States are not able to function freely in the administrative and financial spheres. Only such powers as are necessary for the Centre to preserve the strength of India should be assigned to the Centre and all the other powers should be left to the States, without impairing the ideal of a strong India: and for this purpose, the Constitution should be amended. After the receipt of the report of the Expert Committee appointed for this purpose, the D.M.K. would seek support on an All-India level to the movement for State autonomy.

More powers in the executive and financial spheres are demanded to the States not for the mere sake of enjoying those powers. Since only the States are in close contact with the people, the States alone can serve the people up to their expectations. Hence it is that we demand State autonomy."

It will be relevant in this connection to point out that the election manifesto of the Mysore Pradesh Congress (O) issued in 1972 contained the following reference to State autonomy :—

" Congress will fight in a determined manner for greater autonomy for the State and against all discrimination and step-motherly treatment by the Centre."

The Report of the Rajamannar Committee was received on the 27th May 1971. The said report was sent to the Prime Minister of India, Thirumathi Indira Gandhi.

Acknowledging the receipt of the Report, the Prime Minister, in her letter, dated 22nd June 1971, wrote to me as below :—

" Dear Thiru Karunanidhi,

I have received your letter of the 15th June with which you have sent me a copy of the report of the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee. Your Government will probably examine the recommendations of this report. As you know, the Administrative Reforms Commission also went into this question and has already submitted a report which is under our consideration. If the views of your Government on this matter are made available to us, they will also be taken into account. These are important issues and we intend to consult all the Chief Ministers.

With regards,

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) INDIRA GANDHI."

In the meeting of the National Development Council held on 30th May 1972 under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister. while explaining the policy of this Government, I said that—

" Decentralisation is particularly necessary if a large country like ours is to cope with the problems of a modern economy. It is in this sense that our demand for State

autonomy should be understood—as a request for more efficient management of the country's resources, as a means to enable the Centre to be strong in areas of vital national concern, as a method of enabling the minimum demands of our people to be met in the quickest time and in the most efficient manner."

Though we do not accept the Report of Dr. Rajamannar's Committee in full, we take the Report as the basis for the exposition of our policy in this regard.

As it was thought that a decision on these issues of historic importance had to be taken after great deliberation, the problem was considered at different levels. The Ruling Party appointed the Chezhiyan-Maran Committee and in the light of its observations, the report of Dr. Rajamannar's Committee was analysed. The Government also considered the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission appointed by the Centre. This Government, after a deep consideration of the various opinions expressed by the several Statesmen in India on this issue and after carefully studying the position in the other countries of the world has formulated its views on the report of Dr. Rajamannar's Committee and on the question of State autonomy; and the said views have been placed before this House along with my resolution for the acceptance of the same by this House.

In the recent meeting of the Consultative Committee on Home Affairs, Thiru Dandapani, Member of Parliament, enquired why the Central Government had not taken any decision on the healthy suggestions made by the Rajamannar Committee on the question of re-examining the powers of the Centre and State Governments, and the Union Minister for Home Affairs Thiru Dikshit replied that the said Committee was appointed by the State Government and the State Government had not yet communicated its views on that report.

In pursuance of the said reply by Thiru Dikshit and in response to the desire of the Hon. Members of this House to express their views on the Report of the Rajamannar Committee, this Government has brought forward this Resolution in order that all the States in India attain State autonomy and the Centre becomes a shining example of a true Federal Government.

The National Flag of India flutters in the glittering sun. We lift our eyes to the high skies beyond the clouds in our attempt to enjoy the majesty of the flag. We hear the National Anthem composed by Tagore, the golden voice of Bengal. The sweet melody of the Anthem rings in our ears like the soft music of the Courtallam Falls. Yes! Our country has awaken from its slavery liberating itself from foreign domination. The epic story of our herioc struggle for liberation of India from which we emerged, holding our heads high, is writ large in the history of the world.

The imprisoned nation has become free. The door has opened. With a smile, the prisoner comes out of the iron cage. The tender tottering child eagerly leaps towards its father to embrace him after the languish of long separation. The father with boundless joy stretches out his hands to lift and kiss his child. Alas! the hands do not function! Why is this so? He has been released from the prison. What is the further obstacle? What is it that prevents him? He looks around in surprise. He has come out of the prison and he is free. Then, who prevents him from embracing the child. Nobody prevents him. When he was in prison, his hands and legs were fastened with chains. In his joy of release, he came out of the prison without removing those chains. No doubt he is free but the chains that bind his limbs had not been removed. Man has become free. Then why should his hands and legs be kept bound? India has become free. Then, why should its limbs, namely the States, be kept bound by the chains of concentration of power in the Centre?

This is a burning question which has been before us for a long time. I bring forward this resolution to-day before this august House in the hope that it will help to quench the thirst that the question represents.

Our Constitution is not immutable. It has been amended more than thirty times.

It is my earnest appeal to the Central Government that they should realise that implementation of these great changes in the Indian Constitution will form the basis for strengthening our country and increasing its prosperity and that it will contribute to develop the languages of the States, to preserve and protect the different cultures, to foster good relations among the States, to promote healthy relationship between the States and the Centre

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and to improve the economic conditions of our country. I seek your kind co-operation in this great endeavour. Moved by an ardent desire that the fruits of our freedom should be enjoyed fully by the people and keeping their welfare at heart, we, on behalf of the Government of Tamil Nadu have kindled this luminous lamp at the centre of the stage of Indian politics. I beseech the statesmen of India to help us to keep this flame alive and assist in preserving its glow.

இணைப்பு-II

[36-ம் பக்கத்திலுள்ள அடிக்குறிப்பைக் காண்க.]

மாநில சுயாட்சி பற்றியும் ராஜமன்னர் குழுவின் அறிக்கை பற்றியும் தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் கருத்துரைகள்.

இந்தியாவின் ஒருமைப்பாட்டினையும் இறையாண்மையினையும் ஓங்குறச் செய்வதில் தனக்குள்ள திடமான உறுதிப்பாட்டினைத் தமிழ்நாடு அரசு அழுத்தமாக அறிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறது. மேலும், நாட்டில் பொருளாதார, சமூக முன்னேற்றம் விரைவில் ஏற்பட வேண்டுமானால், உண்மையான கூட்டாட்சி முறையிலே நாட்டின் அரசியலமைப்பு அமைவது அவசியமென்று இவ்வரசு ஆழ்ந்த நம்பிக்கை கொண்டுள்ளது.

அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையில், பண்டித ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு அவர்கள் முன்மொழிந்து, 1947 ஜனவரி 22 ஆம் நாளன்று நிறைவேறிய வரலாற்று இலட்சியங்கள் பற்றிய தீர்மானத்தின் முக்கியமான பகுதியை இங்கு குறிப்பிடுவது பொருத்தமாகும்,

“இப்போது பிரிட்டிஷ் இந்தியாவில் அடங்கியுள்ள ஆட்சிப் பகுதிகளும், இந்திய சமஸ்தானங்களாக உள்ள ஆட்சிப் பகுதிகளும், இவற்றுக்கு அப்பாலுள்ள பிற பகுதிகளும், சுதந்திர இந்தியாவுடன் இணைவதற்கு இசையும் மற்றப் பகுதிகளும் சேர்ந்து இந்திய ஒன்றியமாக அமைதல் வேண்டும் ;

மேற்சொன்ன ஆட்சிப் பகுதிகள் தற்போதுள்ள எல்லைகளுடனோ, அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபை வரையறுக்கும் எல்லைகளுடனோ, பின்னர் அரசியலமைப்புச் சட்டத்திற்கிணங்க ஏற்படும் எல்லைகளுடனோ சுயாட்சி பெற்ற மாநிலங்களாக விளங்கி எஞ்சிய அதிகாரங்களுடன் (Residuary powers) அரசாங்க, நிர்வாக